

The Names of the Leaders and Diplomats of Marḥaši and Related Men in the Ur III Dynasty

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§1. Introduction¹

§1.1. This article will investigate, on the basis of the administrative tablets from Puzriš-Dagan, the leaders of Marḥaši, a country near Elam in modern Iran that enjoyed good relations with the Ur III Dynasty. We will investigate the leaders of Marḥaši and their diplomats or ambassadors (lu₂ kin-gi₄-a) in Sumer, as well as their contacts in the Ur Empire. We suppose that if a leader or king of Marḥaši was called “man of Marḥaši” by the Ur court, this might indicate that there was no formal relationship between Ur and Marḥaši. However, if they bore the title “governor (ensi₂) of Marḥaši,” this might indicate the opposite, that Marḥaši, technically at least in the eyes of Ur, had established a formal relationship with Ur, and may have been considered (in name only) vassals of the Ur dynasty. Since some names in published transliterations have multiple readings, our collations of those names and related words are part of our main work as well.

§1.2. In surviving records, the first Sumerian king to conquer Marḥaši was Lugal-an-ne₂(or na)-mu-un-du₃ (or du), king of the Adab dynasty, but this text is known only from two copies dated to the Old Babylonian period (one each from the reigns of Abi-Ešuh and Ammisaduqa).

§1.2.1. RIME 1.1.8.1

This same king is noted in the Sumerian King List as conqueror of the Ur II dynasty, who in turn lost the kingship to Mari (see the Sumerian King List). In this inscription,

¹ We would like to acknowledge our extensive use of both the database of the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI) and of the Database of Neo-Sumerian Texts (BDTNS), in particular the use of photographs to perform collations. Collated signs and readings by us are marked with * (asterisk). We are grateful to Prof. Wayne Horowitz who read our article and corrected its English for us.

Lugal-anne-mundu defeats 13 rebel kings under the leadership of Migir-Enlil of Marḥaši, and subjugates the “Four Quarters” of the world, i.e., from the Mediterranean to the Zagros Mountains, to his rule. His empire is said to have included the provinces of Elam, Marḥaši, Gutium, Subartu, the “Cedar Mountain” (Lebanon), Amurru (Amorites) or Martu, “Sutium” and “the Eanna Mountain.” The portion of his inscription about Marḥaši is as follows:

ll. 11'-26): *At that time, Migir-Enlil, the governor of Marḥaši, Enlil-ezsu, the governor of Ub, Šeš-Ke'el, the governor of Ke'el, Šu-Anum, the governor of “the Great Gate,” ...-elum, the governor of Amdama, Ibbi-Mama, the governor of Ardama, Nur-šu-eli, the governor of A..., Badganum, the governor of Zi..., Adad-šarrum, the governor of..., Zumur-tanu, [the governor of...], Rim-šunu, [the governor of...], Abi-ha[niš, the governor of..., ...-bi-Maradda, the governor of..., 13 “governors,” who did..., ... raised up ...*

ll. 51'-67'): *[I, Lugal*-an-na-mu-un-du₃], strong man ... Marḥaši, the beloved city ..., the city that Nim-nim (“the *Queen of the High Land”) with bronze šem-drums, ... [*I came] into Marḥaši, into the outskirts of the city. ... In the middle of Marḥaši ... the beautiful city of Enlil ... [I* restored it] to its (former) state. ... the E₂-gan₂-kalama, the temple of Enlil, ... according to the mouth of my nation, ... for the life of my people, ... the white ... the people of Sumer ... from the middle of Marḥaši ...*

117'-155'): *The chief ministers of the Cedar Mountain, Elam, Marḥaši, Gutium, Subartu, Amurru, Sutium and [*the Mountain of Eanna *came]. It was 60 men ... [I* sent] 60 fattened bulls, 420 [rams* to them]. ... [They* *came] into the middle of the temple of E₂-nam-zu ... with divine encouragement ... for four days...*

I am [Lugal-an-na]-mu-[un*-du₃], ... the king of Adab ..., ... who exercises the kingship. ... It was 360 bur₃ of field that I seized there ..., and I have put there a residence. I set straight the ... there and was spending much time in it. I did not let the ... stay in the taverns. ... an area of 3 bur₃ of field ... with*

*the luxuriant grasses ... For the [*governors] of the Cedar Mountain, Elam, Marḥaši, Gutium, Subartu, Amurru, Sutium and the Mountain of Eanna, in their [*arrivals, I* made] them* sit on golden thrones, I placed the golden [gifts*] in their hands, and I placed golden [*objects] in their laps. Their [messengers* came*] in Adab into my [palace*], I have made them come, and ... I have made them come before me, ... much shade I indeed ... there. When ... have passed, the ... *go for all future days. The many [*statues] of Enlil I have raised up, their ..., how is it that I am a just king? ..., I returned them to everywhere and their countries. ... of Adab and its land to his city, ... I had carried in. May... he not reduce them there! May ... he not destroy them! [After] wards, may Dingir-maḥ, the mistress of the E₂-nam-zu temple, grant life to all the ruler of the Cedar Mountains, Elam, Marḥaši, Gutium, Subartu, Amurru, Sutium, and the Eanna Mountain who does not cut off the established cattle and sheep offerings, and who does not cut off those regular provisions from her mouth!*

§1.2.2. RIME 2.1.1.8 ll. 37-109

In the Old Akkadian period, Sargon, Rimuš and Naram-Sin, too, launched campaigns to conquer again the lands of Elam and Marḥaši which was called Parahšum in the Old Akkadian language. Sargon bore the title “the king of Kish (or the world) and the conqueror of Elam and Parahšum” and claims that he captured SaNAM-šimut, a governor of Elam, Luḥ’iš’an, son of Hisibrasini, king of Elam, Ulul, a general of Parahšum, Dagu, brother of the king of Parahšum, Sidga’u, a general of Parahšum, Kundupum, a judge of Parahšum and the Booty of Susa. Hisibrasini, king of Elam and the governor of Širihum, a neighboring state, were captured, too. His inscriptions are as follows:

Sargon is king of the world and conqueror of Elam and Parahšum (pa₂/ba-ra-ah-šum^{ki}). For the one who shall remove this inscription, may the gods Enlil, Šamaš and Ištar tear out his foundations and pluck up his seed!

(Colophon 1) *Inscription on a socle.*

(Caption 1) [...] (On the) left arm..., [ki ...], Elam

(Caption 2) *Sargon, king of the world, the conqueror of Elam and Parahšum.*

(Colophon 2) (Writing) *Standing at his (Right) Side.*

(Caption 3) *Booty of Arawa.*

(Caption 4) *SaNAM-šimut, governor (viz, the general in RIME 2.1.1.9) of Elam.*

(Caption 5) *Luḥ’iš’an, the son of Hisibrasini, king of Elam.*

(Caption 6) *Booty of Sali’amu.*

(Caption 7) *Booty of Kardede.*

(Caption 8) *Ulul, general of Parahšum.*

(Caption 9) *Dagu, brother of the king of Parahšum.*

(Caption 10) *Booty of HEni.*

(Caption 11) *Booty of Bunban.*

(Caption 12) *Zina, governor of Huzi-...,*

(Caption 13) *Hidarida-x, governor of Gunilaha.*

(Caption 14) *Booty of Sabum.*

(Caption 15) *Booty of Awan.*

(Caption 16) *Sidga’u, general of Parahšum.*

(Caption 17) *Kundupum, judge of Parahšum.*

(Caption 18) *Booty of Susa.*

(Colophon 3) (Above are) *on this socle. The ones who are with bound hands.*

§1.2.3. RIME 2.1.1.9

(Surface a 1-47) *For Enlil, Sargon, king of the world, conqueror of Elam and Parahšum, dedicated it to Enlil. For the one who shall remove this inscription, may Enlil and Šamaš both tear out his foundation, and pluck up his seed.*

(Colophon 1) *the Inscription on its socle.*

(Caption 1’) *x-subru, governor of Širihum.*

(Caption 2’) *Sidga’u, general of Parahšum.*

(Caption 3’) *SaNAM-šimut, general of Elam.*

(Caption 4’) *Luḥ’iš’an, son of Hisibrasini, king of Elam.*

(Caption 5’) *Kundupum, judge of Parahšum.*

(Caption 6’) [...] ..., the eight ... men *of the two *rebel [*lands?], (and) eleven(?) cedar-wood weapons.

(Caption 7’) *Hisibrasini, king of Elam.*

(Caption 8’) *Their ... are seized. They are (shown) oppressed in their handcuffs.*

§1.2.4. RIME 2.1.2.6=7 (on a statue of Rimuš)

The main strategic direction of the second king Rimuš was Elam and Parahšum, and his famous title was the king of the world and conqueror of Elam and Parahšum, the same as one of Sargon’s, his father. He defeated Abalgamaš, king of Parahšum, and captured Hisibrasini, his ally, king of Elam, who was captured by Sargon before and possibly submitted to him so was released. He again captured Sidgau, the general of Parahšum who was also captured by Sargon before, and the general of Zahara, his ally. Rimuš occupied Elam again and made Elam off the alliance of Parahšum. When he conquered Elam and Parahšum, he brought out 30 minas of gold, 3,600 minas of copper, 300 male and female slaves, and dedicated them to Enlil. Much booty from Elam and Parahšum was dedicated to Enlil by Rimuš, described as follows.

*1-92) Rimuš, king of the world, was victorious in battle with Abalgamaš, king of Parahšum (pa₂/ba-ra-ah-šum^{ki}). Further, Zahara and Elam had assembled in the center of Parahšum for battle, but he was (again) victorious. Then, he struck down 12,221² men, and he took 4,216 captives. Further, he captured *His(UD)-*ib-*ra-sini, king of Elam, and all the [...] of Elam. Further, he captured Sidga’u, the general of Parahšum and then he captured Sargapi, general of Zahara, in between (the cities) Awan and Susa by the Middle River. Then, he heaped up a burial mound at the site of a town over them. Furthermore, he conquered the cities of Elam, and destroyed their city walls, and he tore out the*

foundations of Parahšum from the country of Elam, and so Rimuš, king of the world, rules Elam (as) the god Enlil had disclosed (in an omen).

In the third year from the year when Enlil gave him the kingship, there were a total of 9,624 men (defeated), including the fallen dead, (and) including the captives. By the gods of Šamaš and Ilaba (Il₃-a-ba₄), I swear that (these) are not falsehoods but are indeed true! At the time of this battle, he created this statue of himself, and dedicated it to Enlil (for) his well-being.

(132-145) When he conquered Elam and Parahšum, he brought out 30 minas of gold, 3,600 minas of copper, 300 male and female slaves, and dedicated them to Enlil. (Colophon 2) It was written ..., at it's

RIME 2.1.2.11 in Nippur

For Enlil, Rimuš, king of the world, when he conquered Elam and Parahšum, presented this from the booty of Elam.

RIME 2.1.2.13 and 2.1.2.15 in Ur and Tutub

For Suen, Rimuš, king of the world, when he conquered Elam and Parahšum, presented this from the booty of Elam.

RIME 2.1.2.16 in Nagar (modern Tell Brak)

For ..., Rimuš, king of the world, when he conquered Elam and Parahšum, presented this from the booty of Elam.

RIME 2.1.2.17 in Ur:

Rimuš, king of the world and the conqueror of Elam and Parahšum.

§1.2.5. RIME 2.1.4.25 ll. 1-16

Naram-Sin, the fourth and greatest king of Akkad, also notes that he conquered Elam up to Parahšum:

Naram-Sin, king of Agade, commander of the world (Kiš) people, and of the land of Elam, all of it, up to Parahšum, and of the land of Subartum: up to the Forest of Cedar.

After the Ur III dynasty was overthrown by the army of Elam, the succeeding Old Babylonian dynasty defeated Elam up to the border of Marḥaši, and so the 30th year name of Hammurapi came to be:

Hammurapi, king, the mighty one, the beloved of Marduk, smashed, with the supreme power of the great gods, smashed the armed hordes of Elam from the border of Marḥaši, of Subartu, Gutium, Ešnunna and Malgium, who had come up in multitudes, and secured the foundations of Sumer and Akkad (RLA 2, 180, 1327).

Here note that the first four states are the same as those in the inscription of Lugal-anne-mundu, king of Adab.

§1.3. After the Old Akkadian dynasty, in order to secure Susa against Anšan, the Ur III dynasty needed to maintain a good relationship with Marḥaši. According to the year names of Šulgi 18, Šulgi gave his daughter to a king of Marḥaši as wife: Year: “Liwir-mitašu, the daughter of

the king, was elevated to the queenship of Marḥaši” (mu li₂-wir-mi-ta₂-šu dumu-munus lugal nam-nin mar-ḥa-ši^{ki} ba-il₂; RLA 2, 137 35). After having made a political marriage with Marḥaši, from his 23th year to 48th year, Šulgi conducted his eastern campaigns against the barbarian states behind Susa and Marḥaši in Iran. In the 23rd year, he conquered the land of Karaḥar, recorded in his 24th year name. In his 24th year, he conquered the land of Simurum for the first time, and in his 25th year, the troops of Ur destroyed Simurum for the second time. In his 26th year, he launched the first Ḥarši campaign and conquered this land in Iran. In his 29th year, a princess of Šulgi, was married to the son of “the governor of Anšan.” The fact that this lesser title is given to the king of Anšan, shows that Anšan, the land behind Karaḥar, Simurum and Ḥarši, had come to terms with the might of the Ur army and pursued to an alliance with Ur by means of a political marriage. In his 30th and 31st year, Šulgi struck Karaḥar for the second and third times, and in the 32nd year, he conquered Simurum for the third time. In his 34th, His vassal Anšan revolted against Ur, and was defeated by the Ur army, at which point all the enemy states in the north-east were subject to the Sumerian Empire. In his 36th year, Šulgi build a long wall against the enemy states, and all foreign states began to submit to the Ur Empire and continued to send diplomats with gifts of pilgrimage to the deified King Šulgi. Thus, Šulgi, in his 38th year, found it necessary to establish a royal stockyard in Puzriš-Dagan to manage all the livestock tribute from Sumer, Akkad, and foreign vassals as far as the frontiers of his kingdom. In his 41st year, he conquered the land of Šašrum for the first time.

§1.4. From Š 43 iii, Marḥaši, the land between Susa and Anšan, began to make alliance with Ur, and its kings bore the title first as “the man,” and later as “the governor” of Marḥaši. In Šulgi 43rd year, he conquered Simurum for the 9th time, in his 44th year, he struck Urbilum and Lul-lubu for the first time, and in his 45th-46th years, he conquered Kimaš and Ḥurti for the first time. In his 47th, the penultimate year, he destroyed Ḥarši for the second time.

§1.5. In Amar-Sin's first year, the new king conquered Urbilum for the second time, and in AS 5-6, the king destroyed Šašrum for the second time and Huhnuri for the first time. During those northeastern campaign years, the “man” and “governor” of Marḥaši maintained a good relationship with Ur. Our investigation of these officials and their Ur counterparts are as follows.

§2. Ḥašip-atal, the man of Marḥaši (Š 43/iii – AS 1) with Lugalkagina, envoy of Sumer

§2.1. *Hašip-atal, the general in Š 43 iii–46 iv*

This name is mostly written as $\text{ha-ši-pa}_2\text{-tal}^2$ and once ha-ši-ip-a-tal (*TCL* 2, 5488), a Hurrian name, who first sent 14 oxen to the Ur dynasty during Š 43 iii 22 after Šulgi conquered Šašrum on the upper Diyala in his 41st year (year name 42 describing the most important event that occurred in the previous year).

§2.2. *Šu-salla, Tišandabi, Kimani, En-ili, Šulgi-ili, Šuruš-kin and other generals, captain and messengers with the ambassadors (lu₂ kin-gi₄-a) of the rulers (“man”) of Marḥaši*

§2.2.1. Three years later, on Š 46 viii 6, after Šulgi conquered Urbilum (modern Erbil) in his 45th year (45th of the new Akiti calendar which began from the Akiti month, vi), Šu-sal-la, who appears later with the epithet “the east one” ($\text{ša}_{12}\text{-ti-um}$)³ and a Šuruš-kin, two Akkadian gener-

² The reading of A-ši-ba-tal in *Nisaba* 8, 382, is incorrect; it should be read $\text{er}_2\text{-su}_3\text{-a}^*$, “the deep weeping ritual.”

³ A $\text{ša}_{12}\text{-ti-um}$ in Girsu, with his seal: $\text{ša}_{12}\text{-ti-um}$, dub-sar , $\text{dumu da-[da}^2]$, dealt with barley delivery to Nippur in Šulgi 46 viii (*MVN* 12, 40; *HLC* 3, 367 no month) and ix (*MVN* 12, 68), xii (*Berens* 24), and Š 48 (barley, *MVN* 8, 179). Note Šu-Salla in Puzriš-Dagan was named as “easterner” only during Š 47 iii, viii and 48 viii. Apart from Šu-salla, only Riz-ili was once called “the easterner” on Š 47 viii/22 (*RA* 74, 2 a): 1 gu_4 6 udu 4 maš_2 , $\text{niĝ}_2\text{-mussa}^{\text{sa}_2}$ ri-iz/š-dingir $\text{ša}_{12}\text{-ti-um}$ [e_2] $\text{da-a-a-ni muĥaldim-še}_3$ (1 bull, 10 rams/goats for the bridal gift of Riz-ili, the easterner, to the [office] of Dayyani, cook). The word is not mentioned in other years. In Š 48, Riz-ili became a ra-gaba knight working for Abi-simti, the new dowager name of Šulgi-simti, queen of the late Šulgi, and also for Ur-Suen, the crown prince name of Amar-Sin, for which see Wu, Yuhong in *JAC* 27, 2012, but where, however, I missed the translation of Scheil to the private tablet *RA* 13, 20 7 (see *BDTNS*; Š 48 no month), which may indicate that in the last months of the last year of Šulgi, the new name Abi-simti appeared firstly, which may prove that after her royal husband died in 48 x, Šulgi-simti immediately changed her name to Abi-simti. Although the “ ki a-naĝ ” of Šulgi-simti was mentioned in AS 1 iii 28 (see *ZVO* 25, 134 2), she did not die soon after the death of Šulgi. The famous Arad-Nanna, sukkal-mah (secretary of state), once also appeared in the ki a-naĝ in Šu-Sin 7 viii (*CUSAS* 3, 971), but is still active until IS 3 (Girsu *TCTI* 1, 897). Abi-simti was active from Amar-Sin 1 xi to Šu-Sin 9 xii. Riz(/š)-ili as knight continues to appear in documents from AS 4 iii 24 to AS 9 xi 16 (*BAOM* 6, 138 297), and in ŠS 2 ii 20, he was already promoted by the new king Šu-Sin to the rank of the $\text{ša}_2\text{-ra-ab-du}$ scribe official. He retires one or two years later. After Šulgi 48, Šu-salla was less active. On AS 5 viii 22 (*OIP* 121, 96), he delivered a lamb/kid tribute to the Ur court, together with those of Beli-arik, governor of Susa (41 ibexes), Hun-Šulgi, general of Umma, Šu-Ištar, Arad-ḥulla, generals, and Šu-Sin, the crown prince.

als as envoys of Ur, accompanied an unnamed ambassador (lu_2 $\text{kin-gi}_4\text{-a}$) of the ruler (“man”) of Marḥaši to Sumer ($\text{Hašip-atal}^?$). With him is also the ambassador of the ruler of Šišil. These two same foreigners, with many soldiers escorting them, ate meat at the kitchen of the palace. A Šu-salla delivered a lamb/kid tribute on Š 43 vii 7 (*OIP* 115, 159). On Š 47 x 9 (=48* iii; *RA* 74, 3 b), Šu-salla, the easterner, was given with 2 fattened bulls and 20 fattened ram/goats on behalf of (mu-še_3) the ambassadors of the rulers of Mardaman(ium), Ḥabura (near Ninua), Gigibini(um) and duĥ-duĥ-li(um) . On Š 48 viii 2* in Tummal, 5 fattened rams were issued to the kitchen in his name (mu-še_3), as well as 5 fattened ram/goats to the court of Šilḥaḥa, man of Šazibi, and 10 to the house of Turam-Šulgi, daughter of Šulgi, and wife of Šu-Dabani, man of ba-šim-e (*ZA* 72, 237-265). On 48 viii 12 in Nippur, via Lugal-ka-gina, the envoy, 4 fattened rams/goats were issued to the kitchen, for (mu-) šu-sal-la , the easterner ($\text{ša}_{12}\text{-ti-um}$), the man of $\text{*ia}_3\text{-da-u}_2^{\text{ki}}$ and the ambassador of Hašip-atal (man of Marḥaši), and on the next day, 2 fattened rams for the first time and 1 fattened bull with 10 fattened rams/goat for the second time were issued to the kitchen for the “easterner” and also for the man of šu-mi-um , the new comer.

On 46 ix 4 (*JCS* 31, 35 BMC 2), the 6 Akkadian generals of the Sumerian dynasty, EN(Bel)-ili, Šu-salla, Šuruš-kin, $\text{ti-ša-an}^*\text{-da-ḥi}^{\text{a}}$ and Šulgi-ili, without Kimani, but with Nur-ili who once guided the man of Šišil, met with some foreign ambassadors: the man of Ḥarši, man of Šišil, (5 rams) the man of Marḥaši ($\text{Hašip-atal}^?$), the man of Gumarāši, man of Yabrat, the man of Barbanazu, the man of $\text{ur}_2\text{-ša-an}^{\text{ki}}$, the man of $\text{ḥa-bu-ra}^{\text{ki}}$, man of $\text{a-ri}_2\text{-bi}^{\text{?}}\text{-um}^{\text{ki}}$ (Urbilum[?]) and man of $\text{Ki-zi}^{\text{?}}\text{-...}$. Each man was presented 1 fattened bull and 5 fattened rams, but Naplanum, the Amorite who was apparently in the service of the Sumerian dynasty, was presented 1 fattened bulls and 400 ram/goats (for his Amorite army[?]). Nur-ili appeared as the lu_2 kas_4 messenger on AS 1 viii 3 (*AUCT* 2, 179), and En-ili and Nur-ili, two of those six Akkadians, were once listed as captains (AS 4 xii 7; *Princeton* 1, 45). En-ili and Šuruš-kin once together sent 5 ram/goats to Enlil and Ninlil each on AS 2 ix 21 (*SAT* 2, 724). His inheritance ($\text{e}_2\text{-du}_6\text{-la}$) and the property of his son, numerous livestock, were taken over by Abba-saga, the chief of royal finance (AS 7 iii; *BPOA* 6, 143). In ŠS 9 viii and IS 3, En-ili’s son Nabi-Enlil was a general of the fortress of Anu/Uruk (seal in *MVN* 3, 294 and *NATN* 612 in Nippur). On Š 48 ix 6 (*Nik* 2, 474), nearly the same day two years

⁴ This is possibly a Hurrian name, since Tiš-atal is a Hurrian ruler who was ensi_2 of Ninua/Nineveh on ŠS 3 ix 28 (*Studies Leichty* 504) and x (*JCS* 28, 179)

later, Lu-Nanna, Šu-salla, EN(Bel)-ili, Tišandaḫi, Šulgi-ili and Nur-ili, as well as ki-ma-<ni*> (see §1.2.2) and AN-gu-la, were given one fattened bull each. On Š 46 i 24 (*AfO* 24, pl. 15 S 213), Tišandaḫi sent a lamb to the king, together with Apilaša, the powerful general of Šulgi in the literature letters,⁵ who sent 31 oxen as tribute, and with Ilsu-rabi, Hun-ḫaba'ur and Lu-Nanna. In *MVN* 15, 142: 15'-45' ([Š 44-48]), 10 goats are issued by ARAD-mu to *^rti¹-ša*-[an*]-da-*ḫi and ...-ba, the ruler of ši-ik-ri-šum, after whom there are 4 classes of the Akkadian and Hurrian messengers (*kas*₄): Tatum-atal, Šu-šanum and Zumma, granted 5, 4 and 4 goats each, belong to the second class of the messengers, and Kimani, the colleague of Tišandaḫi on 48 ix 6, with 3 goats, was the third class; after him there were seven messengers each with 2 goats, and 8 with 1 goat each. On Š 47 x 25 (*CST* 193), Tišandaḫi (or Tiša-(d)Daḫi ?), Zariq, the man of Ashur, Šu-Šulgi and the rulers of Šimānum (for Simānum?), ate mutton together. Later on AS 5 iv 8 (*MVN* 18, 24), lamb tributes were sent to Amar-Sin by Tišandaḫi (1 lamb), together with Igiḫalum (10 sheep), nir-i₃-da-ḡal₂ (1 fattened lamb), u₁₈-ba-a of Adamdun (1 lamb), Ilsu-rabi (1 lamb) and Zariq of Assur (30 sheep), which shows that Tišandaḫi was possibly equal to the other five generals or governors.

There are several men with the Akkadian name of Šulgi-ili. They include Šulgi-ili, fattener (*kurušda*; *PDT* 2, 1215), or knight (*Princeton* 1, 37; ^dšul-gi-i₃-li₂ ra₂-ga-ba), who was the animal manager in the institution of Šulgi-simti, the queen of Šulgi, from Š 47 iv 30 (*OIP* 115, 116) to Š 48 xi 19 (*SET* 53), but he is not our concern. A Šulgi-ili was a general in Š 45 viii - 47 ix (*RT* 37, 130 mi. 7; *OIP* 115, 113), and third was captain from Š 48 x 2 to AS 6 ix 28 (*OIP* 115, 353; *OIP* 121, 103). If the Šulgi-ili here together with the man of Marḫaši and Šišil was not the general, he should have been an important Amorite, who was active from Š 46 x 15 to AS 8 (*SAT* 2, 551; *Nis-aba* 11, 21) and became the gala lament singer in AS 2 ix 24 (*OrSP* 47-49, 21).

§2.2.2. At the two New Year's Festivals of AS 4 i and vii, Kimani and the ambassador of Marḫaši, Naplanum and Amorites, three men of Mari and other foreigners came before the throne of Šulgi.

In Ur, there were two Akiti festivals of New Years: the first at the beginning of the year when the Month of Harvest (*iti še-sag*₁₁-*ku*₅) began in Ur, is called "New Year of Harvest," and the second on the first day of the seventh

month, the Akiti Month in Ur. This is "the New Year of Sowing" (*a*₂-*ki-ti* šu-numun) or Middle Year. In the text of the Akiti-še-sag₁₁-ku₅ on AS 4 i 6, Amur-ili, ambassador of Libanu-uḡšabaša, the governor of Marḫaši, received one bull and five rams as the New Year's gift, and after him, Kumani took only one goat. This Kumani also occurred in the New Year of Sowing or the Middle Year of AS 4 vii 1 in a parallel text, where he takes one goat after the Amorites. In the parallel text, we find Amur-Šulgi, Šulgi-palil and Aqbani who became the gala eunuch singer (AS 2 viii 6; *BCT* 1, 77), three immigrants from Mari, two of whom named after Šulgi, their lord. Some new allied foreign ambassadors, and Naplanum, the powerful Amorite leader, were also honored guests at both festivals. In the group of Amorite, there were Yanbuli or Dannum, his brother, and his son Abiš-kin, as well as the two Amorite generals whose names were after the king: Šulgi-abi and Hun-Šulgi. Many Amorite officers were named after Šulgi, or later after Amar-Suen or Šu-Suen. The throne of the dead Šulgi was at the center of the both New Year festivals (in the first or last position in the lists). Naplanum was the most important ally of the Ur dynasty from Š 43 ii 3 (*Nik* 2, 487), when he was appointed as captain (*na-ap-la-num*₂' nu-banda₃). In the gift list for the second (Sowing) New Year, we also have twelve princesses of Ur with two wet-nurses. Naplanum, who is listed after the princesses in the text, was the leading guest in the both texts, and received the most livestock gifts, two fattened bulls, seven fattened and five ram/goats, with Abi-iškin, his son, and Dannum and Yanbuli, his brothers, and Šulgi-abi and Hun-Šulgi, the Amorites fellows, receiving two rams each. The twelve princesses of Ur and the ambassadors each took one fattened bull and five rams.

A Synopsis of the Amorite Group, the Marḫaši Man and other Foreign Diplomats in the Festivals of New Year (*a*₂-*ki-ti*) and of Middle Year of AS 4 (i and vii)

*AS 4 i 6 (TCL 2, 5508; Akiti~še-sag*₁₁-*ku*₅)

two rams/goats for the throne of Šulgi: Watarum as royal deputy, from the tribute for the Akiti of Harvest (the New Year in *iti še-sag*₁₁-*ku*₅, month i, in Ur).

Naplanum: two fattened bulls, seven fattened rams and five rams/goats,

ia₃-an-bu-li, his brother: two rams/goats,

AS 4 vii 1 (CTMMA 1, 17; Akiti~šu-numun)*

two ram/goat for the throne of Šulgi, ša₃-ta-ku₃-zu as royal deputy, from the tributes for the Akiti of Sowing (the Middle Year, in *iti Akiti*, month vii in Ur)

Naplanum: two fattened bulls, seven fattened rams and five rams/goats,

dan-num₂, his brother: two rams/goats,

⁵ Michalowski 2011: letters nos. 1, 2, 3 & 11 are about Apilaša, gal-zu ukken-na, "President of the Council."

Abiš-ki-in, his son: two rams/goats,	Abiš-ki-in*(il ² , his son): two rams/goats,	bi ₂ -it-tu: one goat,	Amur-Šulgi: three rams/goats (man of Mari in ŠS 4 ix 24 [<i>RA</i> 98, 4 4]; On Š 47 x 16 [<i>CST</i> 190], a*-mi*-ir*.d*šul-gi* and Šulgi-palil, two men of Mari, and their houses are listed, and on AS 8 vii 2 [<i>PDT</i> 1, 548], Amur-Šulgi, Aqbani, Šulgi-abi and Šulgi-ili, four men of Mari, are listed, via Naram-Adad)
the wife of ia ₃ -an-bi ₂ -i ₃ -lum: two rams/goats,	no		
Napšanum, the ambassador of ia ₃ -a-mu-tum: one ram,	no		
Šulgi-abi: two rams/goats, and Ĥun-Šulgi: one ram; above are Amorites	Šulgi-abi: two rams/goats, above are Amorites; Ĥun-Šulgi (not in the Amorites): one ram		
Amur-ili, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaša, the governor of Marḥaši: one fattened bull and five fattened rams,	(after Muluš,) Wedum, ambassador of Nadu-beli, governor of Magan: one fattened bull, five rams;	ze ₂ -x-še: one goat,	Šulgi-palil, two rams (on Š 47 viii 28, he and Amir [=Amur]-Šulgi, two men of Mari, went to Aḥuti to take field [<i>MVN</i> 15, 189] and also on AS [? x] 15 [<i>PDT</i> 2, 959]); on Š 47 viii /21 (<i>CT</i> 32, pl. 23), the two and aq*-ba-ni, the three Marians, are with Tadin-Ištar, their mistress.)
Kimani: one goat,	(after Mar-tu) Išar-libur: one goat, Kimani one ram,	ba-ša-an-ti-ba-at*: one goat,	(after Aqbani) Bašan-tibat: one ram,
si-i ₃ -li ₂ (=EN-ili?): one goat	si-i ₃ *-li ₂ *: one goat,	mu-lu-uš: one goat,	Muluš: one ram (the Akkadian generals),
ku-zu-zu, ambassador of Barbarage: two rams/goats,	(after Wedum) Maza, the one of ia ₃ -še-bu, ruler of Dariba: five rams/goats,	aq-ba-ni, man of Mari: two rams/goats, (who was in Ur on AS 1 ii 2 [<i>AUCT</i> 1, 244], became the gala eunuch on AS 2 viii 6 [<i>BCT</i> 1, 77]) (aq-ba*-ni* also occurs in <i>MVN</i> 4, 71)	(after Šulgi-palil) aq-ba-ni*: two rams/goats (on Š 48 ix 9 [<i>OrSP</i> 18, pl. 5 17: 22-32], Amir-Šulgi, d*šul-gi*-pa*-li ₂ *-il*, Aqbani and Ili-ištiqal, four Marians, in Sumer.)
Adda-buni, ambassador of še-eb-ba: one* goat,	dun* ² -ga ₂ *-a*-at* ² (for ši-ba-ra-aq ²), ruler of Zidaḥri: one fattened bull, five rams (Zidaḥri was in Sumer in AS 7 viii 1 – 8 ix 14).	ur-e ₂ -an-na (nu-banda ₃ on AS 4 xii 23, 25, and on AS 5 v 19 [<i>AUCT</i> 1, 24; <i>RA</i> 76, 14], also sipa Umma): ten rams/goats, ze ₂ -e-na-a, diviner: twenty rams/goats, and lu ₂ -d*šul-gi, son of the king: five rams;	Ur-Baba, cook* (line 97: muḥaldim*, not maškim): one fattened bull, ten rams
še-bi, ambassador of Raši: one goat (Raši, man of zi-danum ₂ with Puzur-Mama of Mari, on AS 2 v 16, <i>LAOS</i> 1, 28),	puzur ₄ *-ma-ma*, ruler of Mari: one fattened bull, five rams/goats (Puzur-Mama with men of Ebla and Uršu was in AS 2 iii 13: <i>MVN</i> 15, 360 iv 14, <i>BPOA</i> 7, 2916 v 20, <i>JCS</i> 7 104, until viii: <i>JCS</i> 7, 105); Šu-Mama, man of Mari in AS 2 xi 15 (<i>Torino</i> 1, 232), may be šu-d ⁱ š-ha-ra, lu ₂ ma-ri ₂ ^{ki} (AS 6 iv 1; <i>CST</i> 468).	da-da, gala singer: two fattened bulls, twenty fattened rams (one tribute norm = one bull : ten sheep);	the high priest of Inanna: one fattened bull, five fattened rams, five rams (ten).
*ba ¹ (not ma)-da-ti-na: one goat,	(after Si-ili) ba-da-ti-na: one goat,	via Lugal-kagina, envoy, ARADmu as royal deputy	via Lugal-kagina, envoy, ARADmu as deputy,
bu-ul-ba-at*: one goat,	bu-ul-ba-at: one goat,	are withdrawn from ab-ba-sa ₆ -ga	are withdrawn from ab-ba-sa ₆ -ga
Šimaškeans: three rams/goats,	Zinugi, man of Ĥibilati, via bi ₂ -li ₂ -la, envoy,		
dan-ha-la-at: one goat,	(after Si-ili) dan-ḥa-la-at* ¹ (not ŠAR ₂ ×30): one goat,		
Ĥu-un-ki-ib-ri: one goat,	Ĥu-un-ki-ib-ri: one ram,		
Hu-un-ze ₂ -ri: one goat	Ĥu-un-Šulgi: one ram, Šulgi-ili: one goat,		

§2.2.3. On AS 6 x 10 (*SET* 63), the five men of the first rank, issued with one fattened bull and ten rams, were Lu-Nanna, the u₃-kul, Ur-Eanna, arad₃-kal-la, ri-im-ga-ga and mu-ur₂-tin-gaba, who was an Elamite on Š 45 iii 4 (*TRU* 256) and raised to nu-banda₃ captain from AS 5 ix 29 (*Nik* 2, 476), once under Dukra on [AS 5?] v 27, in the festival of the men of Marḥaši (*MVN* 13, 695), and then under Šarrum-bani from AS 9 iii 15 (*Nisaba* 8, 52) to SS 3 (*CT* 32, 36). Murtingaba (one lamb) was also together with Ur-Eanna (five gazelles) on AS 5 i 23 (*JCS* 23, 113 23). After Murtingaba, Naplanum was issued, by ARAD-mu, with one fattened bull and three fattened rams and one ram, and Yabrat with one bull and five rams. After the higher rank men, na-na-dug-še and še-da-ga-gi each was presented with two fattened rams. For the three men from Mari, Amur-Šulgi took two rams, Šulgi-palil and aq^{*}-ba-ni each took one ram, and for the three Amorites all whose names include the name of the divine Šulgi, Šulgi-abi took two, Šulgi-ili and Hun-Šulgi each took one.

§2.3. ama-ġiri₃^{še-er} and Hašip-atal, man of Marḥaši (Š 46 ix–48)

On Š 46 ix *18 (*BIN* 3, 12), ama-ġiri₃ (or anše)^{še-er} (ama-ġiri₃^{ši-ir} in *MVN* 13, 529), but mostly written as ama-giri₃^{er}, “Mother of Pride,” a Sumerian noble lady, who might be the wife of Hašip-atal, was issued with two fattened rams, and then five fattened rams were sent to the kitchen for Hašip-atal, titled as “the man of Marḥaši,” and for ama-ġiri₃^{er}. On Šulgi 48 xii 12 (*UDT* 116), four fattened rams was presented to the ki–a-naġ libation place of the dead Šulgi, one fattened ram was issued to the e₂-uz-ga dining hall for the living queen (nin), who was either Geme-Ninlil or Šulgi-simti, and one goat was given to ama-ġiri₃[^{er*}], who came with the messengers and was possibly a princess married to the ruler of Marḥaši. On Š 48 x 18, from ba-ba-tal, (under?) ama-ġiri₃^{še-er}, Nasa took two norms (one norm = one bull with 10 sheep/goats) of tribute, i.e., two fattened bulls, eleven fattened rams with nine rams (twenty sheep) and one fattened goat (*Hermitage* 3, 190, P212067).

On the AS 1 v 29 (*MVN* 15, 194), ama-ġiri₃ came back to Sumer, with the ambassadors of both ar-wi^{*}-lu^{*}-ug-bi,

Texts on Hašip-atal, his ambassadors, Šu-salla and others, ama-ġiri₃^{še-er} and nin-ġe₂-du₇, with Lugal-kagina, envoy (Šulgi 43 iii – 48 xii)

text	distributing	Marḥaši receivers	Other receivers
Š43 iii 22 (<i>OIP</i> 115, 149)	seven bulls and seven cows	tribute from Hašip-atal	

ruler of Marḥaši, and his son, who might be the son born by her, or her grandson.

On AS 1 ix 21 (*MVN* 13, 529), a gift of one bull and five rams/goats were granted to each dwelling of EN-ili, šu-sal^{*}-la^{*}, Šuruš-kin, dšul-<gi^{*}>-i₃-li₂, Nur-ili, the man of ši-ig-ša-bi^{ki}, and gun₄-na and u₂^{*}-du-ru: the men of šu-da-e^{ki}, du-ug-ra, man of Kakmi, as well as five fattened rams to Bibra, the Šimaškean, and one fattened goat for ama-ġiri₃^{ši-ir}. Meanwhile, twelve fattened rams/goats were sent three times to the kitchen for the messengers with them.

§2.4. Hašip-atal, general, and his daughter-in-law Nin-ġedu in Š 47

On Š 47 iv (Š46' xii'; *TCL* 2, 5488, a text of the weapon keeper), one bronze musical instrument was handed in by Hašip-atal general, via Šu-Enlil, guard of Ea-ili (general of Umma), while one Elamite bow was delivered from Lu-Nanna, general of Nagsu, to Puzrish-Dagan. This means that Hašip-atal, a chieftain with a Hurrian name, now became a general of the Ur Dynasty. On Š 47 xii 4 (*TRU* 110) Nasa took five fattened oxen, 28 fattened rams, two goats, one kid, three norms (one norm = one bull with ten of flock) of tribute, from ġa-ši-pa₂-tal and three fattened bulls, thirty rams (three norms) from nin-ġe₂-du₇, daughter-in-law of Hašip-atal. nin-ġe₂-du₇ was the sixth of the twelve princesses on AS 4 vii 1* (*CTMMA* 1, 17), on the Akiti days when the royal gifts were given to the dead Šulgi and to Naplanum, his son and brother, as well as to the Amorites, the Marians, and others.

The irrigation of the field of nin-ġe₂-du₇ in Umma was mentioned on AS 3, with a royal envoy (*BPOA* 1, 852). However, another princess with the same name is called the wife of a sukkal-maġ (“chief minister,” *ASJ* 9, 126 57, date damaged), who was possibly the wife of the father of Arad-mu, during Š 35 xi and 36 i in the archive of queen Šulgi-simti (*CST* 43; *Hirose* 13). This possibility is based on the fact that the wife of the sukkal-maġ ARADmu was a šuba₃-du₃-a in AS 9 x (*ITT* 5, 6997), and a Baba-u'e'a in ŠS 3 <no month> 3, 9, 10-11, 13, 20, 23, 25 (*TCTI* 1, 1028, 1027; *ITT* 2 4006, 3178, 3168, 3181, 4000; *MVN* 2, 133) and in IS 1 (*TCTI* 2, 2700).

Š 46 viii 6 (RA 8, 183 1)	two fattened bulls, nineteen fattened ram/goats to the kitchen, Šulgi-kalama-metebi as royal deputy (maškim)	for (mu) <šu* >-sal-la (ša ₁₂ -ti-um), and šu-ru-uš-ki-in, (and) the ambassadors of man of mar-ḥa-ši ^{ki} and of man of ši-ši-il ^{ki}	soldiers: sixty-six sheep/goats for first time, 1 ox and 11 sheep/goats for second; withdrawn from lu ₂ -dingir-ra II ⁶
Š 46 ix 4 (JCS 31, 35 BMC 2)	five fattened rams, each: ... ARADmu as royal deputy, are withdrawn from the anonymous (Nasa)	for the man of Ḥarši, man of Šišil, (only five rams) for the man of Marḥaši (Ḥašip-atal?), the man of Guma-raši, man of Yabrat, the man of Barbanazu, man of ur ₂ -ša-an ^{ki} , man of ḥa-bu-ra ^{ki} , man of a-ri ₂ -bi ² -um ^{ki} ... man of ki-zi ² -[...], one bull, 400 rams/goats, for Naplanum, Amorite (mar*-tu)	for EN-i ₃ -li ₂ (general), for šu-sal-la (general?), for Šuruš-kin, for Ti-ša-an-da-ḥi*, for Šulgi-ili, for Nur-ili (with man of Šišil in 48 vi 26) (all these nobles appeared with the foreign ambassadors in Š 48 ix 6 in §1.2.1)
Š 46 ix 18* (not 12) (BIN 3, 12)	ARADmu as deputy, in Ur, are withdrawn from Nalu	two fattened rams for ama-ḡiri ₃ ^{še-cr} (šer in EME-SAL for ḡiri ₃ /mer _x ²)	five fattened rams to the kitchen for Ḥašip-atal, man of Marḥaši and ama-ḡiri ₃ ^{še-cr} (“mother of might”)
(Š 46' xi' =) Š 47 iv (TCL 2, 5488)	one bronze za ₃ -mi-ri ₂ -tum musical instrument: the tribute Dayyānu-mišar received	handed over by Ḥašip-atal, šakkana general, via Šu-Enlil, guard of Ea-ili (general of Umma)	one Elam bow from Lu-Nanna, general of nag-su, in Puzrish-Dagan
Š 47 vi 23 (Hermitage 3, 162)	forty-two asses, the booty against the land of Amorites	from Ḥašip-atal, via Uššabras, lu ₂ -x, the tributes are taken.	
Š 47 xii 4 (TRU 110)	five fattened oxen, twenty-eight fattened rams, two goats, one kid, Nasa took tributes in Nippur	(tribute) from Ḥašip-atal,	three fattened bulls, thirty rams (from) nin-ḥe ₂ -du ₇ , the daughter-in-law of Ḥašip-atal.
Š 48 vi 26 (OrSP 18, pl. 4 14)	via Lugal-kagina, envoy, withdrawn from lu ₂ -dingir-ra in Nippur	one udu for <e ₂ -uz-ga>, the tribute of Ḥašip-atal, Ayakalla (cook) as royal deputy	one bull, ten rams/goats, to kitchen, for Nur-ili, man of ši-ši-il-la ^{ki} and the messengers
Š 48 viii 13 (PDT 1, 419)	via Lugal-kagina, envoy, Arad-mu as royal deputy, in Nippur, withdrawn from lu ₂ -dingir-ra II,	two fattened rams for the first time, one fattened bull, four fattened rams, six fattened goat for the second time, to kitchen for Šu-salla, “easterner”	the ruler of Šumium, the ruler of Yadau and the ambassador of Ḥašip-atal.
Š 48 xi 25 (Ontario 1, 38)	three fattened rams, tribute of Ḥašip-atal and one ewe, tribute of Amar- Damu	to the e ₂ -uz-ga dining hall, Ur-Baba (cook) as deputy, withdrawn from Nasa	AS 1 iii (AnOr 1, 10) five bulls, the bulls delivered from Ḥašip-atal via Lugal-kagina, from Nasa, Enlila took
Š 48 xii 12 (UDT 116)	four fattened ewes were presented to the ki-a-naḡ libation place of the dead Šulgi, Arad-mu as deputy, withdrawn from Ahuni.	1 fattened ram was issued to the é~ uz-ga dining hall for the living nin (queen, who was either Geme-Ninlil or Šulgi-simti).	10 fattened rams/goat to the kitchen for the messengers in Nippur, and one goat was given to ama-ḡiri ₃ [^{er*}].

⁶ Lu-dingira I is assigned by us to the same named official who was the keeper of wild animals, and Lu-dingira II here was the livestock keeper of the Animal Center.

§2.5. *Ḫašip-atal, General of Arraphum from AS 5 v 25 and his Son Puzur-Šulgi, from 8/v (in ŠS 3)*

(ugula) of the troops in Arraphum, and his son Puzur-Šulgi took his position during the reign of Šu-Suen.

From AS 5 v 25 on, Ḫašip-atal worked as the general

Ḫašip-atal, general of Arraphum (AS 5 v – [IS 1 xi]), and his successor Puzur-Šulgi (AS 8 v – ŠS 3)

AS 5 v 25 (*PDT* 1, 166): twenty oxen, 300 rams/goats, from the troops of ar-ra-ap-ḫu-um^{ki}, one bull, ten rams, from Zuzu, captain; and from mu₆-ḫa-a, captain: the ugula general is ḫa-ši¹(ar²)-pa₂-tal, Abba-saga took them

AS 8 v 8 (*AUCT* 3, 484): twenty bulls from the troops of Arraphum, its ugula general is Puzur-Šulgi, son of Ḫašip-atal

ŠS 3 (*CT* 32, 36 BM 103403): one lamb in the receipt of Puzur-Šulgi, son of Ḫašip-atal, withdrawn from Urmes. IS 1 xi 21 (*JCS* 52, 102 52) one gazelle kid, the tribute to the king, from Ḫašip-atal, in-ta-e₃-a took

§3. Arwilugbi, governor of Marḫaši, and ambassadors of him and his son in Amar-Suen 1 v, vi, viii

On AS 1 v 28-29, vi 8, AS 1 vi 21 and AS 1 viii 17, the unnamed ambassador of Arwilugbi, a new ruler (man) of Marḫaši, and that of the son of Arwilugbi stayed in Sumer, accompanied by Lugal-kagina, the Ur sukkal envoy. This son might be his successor named Liban(u)-ugšabaš, who appears as the prince or governor (ensi₂) of Marḫaši later. On AS 1 vi 21, ama-ḡiri₃^{cr} appears together with the two ambassadors, and on AS 1 xii* 12*, she was issued

one fattened ram alone and the two ambassadors possibly went back to Marḫaši. On AS 1 xii* 12*, a ba-ri-a-šum was titled as the man of mar^{ar}-ḫa-ši^{ki} when he came from Marḫaši.

Note that in the two texts of En-dingir-mu in Tummal (*ZA* 80, 28 [AS 5 viii 3]; *MVN* 15, 199 [5 viii 12]) and one text of Enlila (*OrSP* 47-49, 24 = *TRU* 318 [AS 3 vi 3]), Marḫaši was written as mar^{ar}-ḫa-ši^{ki}. The latter one records a Bariašum as the man came back from Marḫaši.

The unnamed ambassadors of Arwilugbi, man of Marḫaši, and of his unnamed son in AS 1 v-vi, viii and ama-ḡiri₃^{cr}

AS 1 v 28
(*JCS* 57, 28 7)

via Lugal-kagina, lugal-ma₂-gur-re envoy as deputy, withdrawn from Lu-dingira II (in charge of the wild animals)

one fattened ram for the ambassador of ar-wi*-lu-ug*-bi, man of Marḫaši,

one fattened rams for the ambassador of the son of ar-wi*-lu*-ug*-bi, man of Marḫaši, to their their farm (e₂-duru₅)

AS 1 v 29
(*MVN* 15, 194)

lugal-ma₂-gur envoy as royal deputy, withdrawn from Lu-dingira II

one fattened ram for the ambassador of ar-wi*-lu*-ug*-bi and one fattened ram for ambassador of the son of ar-wi*-lu*-ug*-bi,

one fattened ram ama-ḡiri₃^{cr} (not ug)

AS 1 vi 8 (2-3, 7- 11, ... 27-
[*28/9])
(*RSO* 83, 344 9)

via Lugal-kagina, lugal-ma₂-gur-re as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḫuni

one fattened ram each for the ambassador of the son of ar-wi-lu-ug*-bi, the ambassador of ar-wi-lu-u[g]-bi*, and the ambassador of Ḫulibar, ruler of Duḫduḫli, to their farm (e₂-duru₅-ne-ne-še₃)

two fattened rams for Inanna, to Uruk, via Lugal-imah, cupbearer

AS 1 vi 8
(*PDT* 1, 401)

withdrawn from Enlila in Ur

nine* bulls for the men of Marḫaši on 8th, dragged to the kitchen (šu-[gid₂ e₂*-muḫaldim*])

18-19) 1 gu₄*[1]2[!] (read 4[!]) ab₂, ba-uš₂, ur-niḡar^{ḡar} šu ba-ti (total) 60 + 32 = 92*

AS 1 vi 13
(*MVN* 18, 19)

from Aḫuni and Lu-dingira, both from Abba-saga, Enlila took

twenty oxen for Ur, twenty-eight bulls for the men of Marḫaši, from Aḫuni

forty bulls for Ur, twenty-six bulls from the men of Marḫaši, from Lu-dingira

AS 1 vi 21 (<i>ASJ</i> 19, 204 13)	in Uruk, via Lugal-kagina, messenger, ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḫuni	one fattened ram each for the ambassador of Arwilugbi, the ambassador of the son of Arwilugbi, and the ambassador of Ḫulibar, ruler of Duḫduḫli	one fattened he-goat for ama-ḡiri ₃ ^{*cr} (not ug) to their farm (e ₂ -duru ₅ -ne-ne-še ₃)
AS 1 vi 26 (<i>SAT</i> 2, 683)	withdrawn from Aḫuni, ARADmu as royal deputy	one fattened ram for ama-ḡiri ₃ ^{cr} (for ne ₂)	
AS 1 vi (<i>BPOA</i> 1, 309)	two liters of beer and two of bread, via ARADḫula, general in Girsu	forty-four Elamites, each, received, when the Elamites went from Ur to Marḫaši	two knights of Ur, each six liters of beer, six of bread
AS 1 viii 17 (<i>MVN</i> 1, 124)	ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from En-dingirmu in Tummal	one fattened ram each for the ambassador of ar-bi(for wi)-*lu-*ug-bi and the ambassador of the son of ar-bi-*lu-*ug-bi	one ram for mar-ḫu-ni, man of Ḫarši
AS 1 viii 17 (<i>CST</i> 235)	ARADmu as deputy, withdrawn from Aḫuni	two calves crossbred with bison, to the place (ki ¹) of the son of ar-*wi-*lu-<ug-bi>, man of Marḫaši	<to> Marḫaši, via <...>, (photo P107749)
AS 1 xii * 12* (<i>Ontario</i> 2, 205)	ARADmu as deputy in Nippur, withdrawn from Lu-dingira	two fattened bulls, five fattened rams for engar-du ₁₀ when he presents the bridal price to the house of his father-in-law	one fattened ram for ki-wi, the man of Duḫduḫli, one fattened ram/goat for Raši, the man of Zidanum, one fattened ram for ama-ḡiri ₃ (KIS) ^{cr*} , sent to their village via pu-u ₂
AS 3 vi 3* (<i>OrSP</i> 47-49 024 = <i>TRU</i> 318)	withdrawn from Enlila	two bulls for ba-ri-a-šum the man who came back from Marḫaši (lu ₂ ma ^{rar} -ha-ši ^{ki} -ta i ₃ -im-gen-na-a)	(2 copies: <i>OrSP</i> 47-49 24 = <i>TRU</i> 318)

§4. Amur-ili, the first ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḫaši: AS 3 xii – 4 v 15 for a half year

Klein 1990 presented seven texts about Amur-ili, the first ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, in Sumer. In addition, we now have 12 texts about the visit of Amur-ili on AS 3 xii 28, AS 4 i 6 (Klein mistook this for i/3), 14, 23, 27, ii 25, [iii] 7, iii 22, v 6, 9, 15. This Libanu-ugšabaš, ruler of Marḫaši, might be the unnamed son of Arwilugbi who apparently had a close relationship with the Ur court since he was titled with the governor (ensi₂) of Marḫaši.

Texts Recording Amur-ili in Sumer (AS 3 xii 28 – 4 v 15)

AS 3 xii 28 (<i>CST</i> 286)	via Šu-Dada, envoy, nam-ha-ni, envoy, as royal deputy, withdrawn from Šulgi-ayamu	one fattened ram, for Amur-ili(dingir), ambassador who came from Marḫaši	
AS 4 i 6 (<i>TCL</i> 2, 5508)	ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Abba-saga	1 fattened bull and five fattened rams for Amur-ili, ambassador of li-ba-nu-ug-ša-ba-aš, ensi ₂ mar-ḫa-ši ^{ki}	for Kimani, Si-ili, Kuzuzu, ambassadors of Barbarage, Addabuni of Šebba, Šebi of Raši, Madtina, Bulbad and Šimaškeans; see §1.2

Amur-ili was a man with an Akkadian name who should have learned the language of Iran. In Sumer, Amur-ili was accompanied in turn by the three envoys of Ur: Šu-Dada in AS 3 xii 28, Lugal-kagina in four days of AS 4 i-ii, and Lu-Damu in six days of months iii and v. On AS 4 iii 7, 16, 22, he appears together with Guraya, man of Uršu, and 'a₃-um, man of Mari and on v 6 and 9, these three eastern diplomats were joined by two other men from Syria, Dagan-abu, ambassador of ia-ši-li-im, governor of Tutula, and Ibatu, ambassador of Ibdatu, man of gu₅-ub-la (Byblos).

AS 4 i 14 (<i>MVN</i> 3, 228)	Lugal-kagina, envoy, as royal deputy, withdrawn from Nalu (sheep fattener in Nippur)	one fattened ram, for Amur-ili, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši	one fattened ram for the foreign minister, one for Ilallum, one for Bu'udu, one for lugal-ku ₃ - zu when lugal-ur ₃ -ra-ni went out, one for Naplanum, Amorite
AS 4 i 23 (<i>OIP</i> 121, 20)	via Lugal-ka-gina, envoy, ARADmu as royal deputy in Uruk, withdrawn from Aḥu-Wer	one fattened goat for Amur-ili, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši,	one fattened rams goat for the throne room of Inanna of Uruk, via Ilum-bani, five fattened goats for Babati, (treasurer)
AS 4 i 27 (<i>SAT</i> 2, 806)	via Lugal-kagina, envoy, ARADmu as royal deputy in Uruk, withdrawn from Aḥu-Wer	one fattened ram for Amur-ili, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši	
AS 4 ii 25 (<i>AUCT</i> 2, 278)	via Lugal-kagina, envoy, as royal deputy, withdrawn from Abba-saga	one bull, ten rams/goats for Amur-ili, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši	from the tribute of the army of Tutub
[*AS 4] iii 7 (<i>MVN</i> 3, 384)	via Lu-Damu; ARADmu as royal deputy; withdrawn from Šulgi-ayamu	one fattened ram, for Amur-ili, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši	one fattened ram for Guraya, man of Uršu, one fattened ram for 'a ₃ -um, man of Mari, via Huziri, envoy
AS 4 iii 16 (<i>CDLJ</i> 2012:1 §4.35)	ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Šulgi-aya-mu	one fattened ram for Amur-ili, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši, via Lu-Damu	one fattened ram for Guraya, man of Uršu, one for 'a ₃ -um, man of Mari; via Bilila, envoy
AS 4 iii 22 (<i>TLB</i> 3, 25)	via Huziri, envoy, ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Šulgi-ayamu	one fattened ram for Amur-ili, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši	one fattened ram for Guraya, man of Ur-[šu], one for 'a ₃ -um, man of Mari
AS 4 v 6 (<i>MVN</i> 18, 99)	ARADmu as royal deputy, are withdrawn from Šulgi-ayamu	one fattened goat for Amur-ili, ambassador of li-ba*-an-ug-ša-ba*-aš, governor of Marḥaši, one for Guraya, man of Uršu, one for 'a ₃ -um, man of Mari; via Huziri, envoy	one Dagan-abu, ambassador of Yaši-illum, governor of Tutula, 1 for Ibatu, ambassador of Ibdati, man of gu ₅ -ub-la (Byblos), via Bušam envoy
AS 4 v 9 (<i>MVN</i> 5, 111)	via Lu-Damu, envoy, ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Šulgi-ayamu	one fattened ram, for Amur-ili, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši, one for Guraya, man of ur*-šu*, one for 'a ₃ *-um*, man of Mari; via Huziri, envoy	one for Dagan-abu, ambassador of Yaši-illum, governor of Tutula, 1 for Ibatu, ambassador of Ibdati, man of gu ₅ -ub-la (Byblos), via Bušam, envoy
AS 4 v 15 (<i>BCT</i> 1, 90)	via Lu-Damu, envoy, ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Šulgi-ayamu	one fattened ram for Amur-ili, ambassador of Libanu, ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši	

§5. Liban-ašgubi, the second ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, in AS 5 i, v 9, vii-ix, xi, AS 6 ii, iv, vii-viii 5, for two years

Klein 1990 presented 16 texts recording Liban-ašgubi, the second ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, ruler of

Marḥaši. Today, the texts concerning li-ba-an-aš-gu-bi, the second ambassador of Li-ba-nu-ug-ša-ba-aš in CDLI and BDTNS now number 23. Liban-ašgubi can be identified as being from Marḥaši from his Iranian name; he would have known the Sumerian and Akkadian language-

es. He replaced Amur-ili, who bears an Akkadian name, as the ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš from AS 5 i. He appears in the court of Ur on AS 5 v 9, vii 5, viii 3, 11-12*, 24, ix 1, xi 13, AS 6 ii 16-[17], 24, iv 1, 5-6, 9, 26, vii 1, viii 2-3, 5. During Amar-Suen 5, the Sumerian envoys who accompanied Liban-ašgubi were Ur-Šarru-gen, 4 times during AS 5, and ḥa-ni (=nam-ḥa-ni?), Lu-Damu, Lu-Enki and nam-ḥa-ni once. During Amar-Suen 6 ii 16 – iv 9, the accompanying envoy was Šu-Šulgi, and then from 6 iv 26 to viii 5, the accompanying envoy was Lu-Damu again, who had accompanied Amur-ili, the first ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, in Amar-Suen 4 iii and v, and also Liban-ašgubi on AS 5 viii 3.

Liban-ašgubi appears together with Bušam, man of Šim-

Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši: AS 5 i – 6 viii 5

AS 5 i [?] (<i>Trouville</i> 27)	ur-šar-ru-gen ₇ as royal deputy, withdrawn from Abba-saga	one fattened bull, three fattened rams, seven rams, for li-ba-an*(not nu)-aš-gu-bi, ambassador of li-ba-nu-ug*-ša-ba-aš, governor of Marḥaši	two rams for Šulgi-abi, one ram for Ḥun-Šulgi (general of Umma), two fattened bulls, two fattened rams, ten lambs for Naplanum, Amorite
AS 5 v 9 (<i>PDT</i> 2, 1171)	ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Šulgi-ayamu	one fattened ram for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši, via ḥa-ni*(li ₂), envoy,	two fattened rams/goats for Inanna to Uruk, via Nur-Sin, cupbearer, one fattened ram for Ḥubutiya (sukkal in <i>PDT</i> 2, 959) via Lalamu, envoy
AS 5 vii 5 (<i>MVN</i> 5, 113)	via ur-šar-ru-gen ₇ , envoy, ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from [Šulgi-ayamu?]	[one] fattened ram for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of li-ba-<nu>-ug-<ša>-ba-aš, governor of Marḥaši	[one] fattened ram for Bušam, man of Šimanim, [one+ fattened ram] for Naplanum, Amorite
AS 5 viii 3 (<i>ZA</i> 80, 28 Private Col.)	ARADmu as royal deputy; withdrawn in Tummal, from the place of En-dingirmu	one goat for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of mar ^{ar} -ḥa-ši, via Lu-Damu, envoy	one for Bušam, man of Šimanim, via Bušam, envoy
AS 5 viii 11 (<i>PDT</i> 1, 126)	ur-šar-ru-gen ₇ <envoy> as royal deputy, withdrawn from Abba-saga	one bull, ten rams, for li-ba-an*-aš-gu ₅ -bi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši	
AS 5 *viii 12 (<i>MVN</i> 15, 199)	ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn in Tummal, from En-dingirmu	one fattened goat for li-ba-an-aš-gu*-bi*, ambassador of li-ba*-nu-ug*-ša-ba*-aš, governor of mar ^{ar} -ḥa-ši ^{ki}	one fattened ram for bu ₃ -ša-am, man of ši-ma-num ₂ ^{ki} , one for ad-da-gi-na, ensi ₂ of ḥa-ar-ši ^{ki}

num on AS 5 vii 5, viii 3 and viii* 12 in Tummal. On the latter day, ad-da-gi-na⁷, ensi₂ ḥa-ar-ši^{ki}, joined the two. On 5 viii 24, he is listed together with me*-ša*-nu-nu, the Šimaškan. On AS 6 ii 16, he is with dan-na-li, ambassador of Ḥulibar, ruler of duḥ-duḥ-, via Lalamu, and zu-bu-uš⁸, ambassador of ia₃-ab-ra-at of Šimaški.

On 6 [ii 17] and ii 24, the ambassador of Marḥaši was still together with Zubuš who was sent by Yabrat of Šimaški. On AS 6 iv 1, 5-6, 9, 23, 26, this ambassador met two diplomats of Syria: Ili-Dagan, man of Ebla, and Šu-Išḥara, man of Mari, and on the last day of his stay in Sumer (viii 5), Liban-ašgubi met Marḥuni, man of Ḥarši, and a-ha-ba/pa₂-tal, man of Ḥipilati, in Tummal.

⁷ AS 5 viii 7, 1 sila₄ ad-da-gi-na ensi₂ ḥa-ar-ši^{ki} (*Torino* 1 68); AS 8 i [18[?]]: ad-da-gi-na ensi₂ ḥa-ar-ši^{ki} (*MVN* 13, 636); AS 8 vii 2: 1 udu lu₂ kin-gi₄-a ad-da-gi-na lu₂ ḥa-ar-ši^{ki} (*PDT* 1, 548); AS 8 ix 13, 14, 16: i-ša-we-er dumu ad-da-gi-na, lu₂ ḥa-ar-ši^{ki}, giri₃ ri-ip-ḥu-ti sukkal (*OIP* 121, 555, *BCT* 1, 83); AS 9 ix 14: 1 maš₂-gal in-ši-we-er, dumu ad-da-gi-na ensi₂ ḥa-ar-ši^{ki} (*OIP* 121, 572); AS 9: 1 sila₄ kin-gi₄-a ad-da-gi-na (*SET* 106) (ŠS 8 i 29: giri₃ ad-da-gi-

na, lu₂ KA×LAGAB *PDT* 1, 617).

⁸ AS [2 vi] 23: *ZA* 97, 230; AS 3 i 11: 1 gu₄ niga [zu-bu]-uš lu₂ kin-gi₄-a ia₃-a-ab-ra¹-at šimašgi₂^[ki], giri₃ lugal-kagi-[nā] (*TCL* 2, 5559); AS 5 xii 22: giri₃ ur-šar-ru-gen₇ sukkal (*AUCT* 2, 318); AS 7 v 21: 1 udu niga ga-ad-da-du, 1 maš₂-gal niga zu-bu-uš, lu₂ kin-gi₄-a ia₃-a-ab-ra-at šimašgi₂^{ki}-me.

AS 5 viii 24 (<i>MVN</i> 1, 142)	ARADmu as royal deputy, from the tribute of me*-ša*(not la ₂ -ta)-nu-nu, Šimaškean (Mešinunu in <i>OIP</i> 121, 164: 8; Mešanunu in <i>MVN</i> 15, 216: 8), withdrawn from Abba-saga	one bull, ten Šimaški rams/goats for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, man (lu ₂) of Marḥaši	forty rams for Ilallum, two for Ur-Suen, bow maker
AS 5 ix 1 (<i>MVN</i> 11, 154)	ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Abba-saga	ten rams/goats for li-ban*(na)-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši	one bull, five rams/goats for Me-Ištaran, “ša ₃ *(not ki) mu-er ₁₀ *-ra* (not udu)-ta
AS 5 ix 24 (<i>Nik</i> 2, 484)	from the tribute of Išarra-maš, withdrawn from Abba-saga	thirty rams/goats for the soldiers of the man of Marḥaši, general: Abuni, Ili-dan as royal deputy	two sheep for Puzur-uša, the lukur concubine of king, *Šu-Mama, envoy (sukkal) as deputy (lu ₂ kin-gi ₄ -a lugal from AS 1 [<i>Nik</i> 2, 203] to AS 7 x [<i>AnOr</i> 1, 110]), and as kas ₄
AS 5 x (<i>BPOA</i> 1, 1036)	from Ur-Lisi, (governor of Umma), receipt of Lugal-kagina	twelve ban ₂ of good beer, thrity-three ban ₂ of common beer, fifteen ban ₂ of gu-flour, thirty ban ₂ of barley flour and two rams/goats, supplies for the men of Marḥaši	(one low rank travel man is issued 1/2 ban ₂ of common beer, so that 33 ban ₂ is to be issued for about 66 men)
[AS 5 ...] (<i>ZA</i> 95, 66)	ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from [Šulgi-ayamu]	one fattened ram for Liban-<aš>gubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši, via nam-ḥa-ni, envoy	Dukra and Ilallum, generals, each took one bull and ten sheep to feed dogs, via two dog keepers
AS 5 xi 13 (<i>Hermitage</i> 3, 297)	ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Šulgi-ayamu	one fattened ram for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, the governor of Marḥaši, via Ur-Šarru-kin, envoy	one fattened ram for Ḥubutiya (sukkal), via Lalamu, envoy (the two also on AS 5 i 19 [<i>HUCA</i> 29, 77 5] and on v 9 above)
AS 6 ii 16 (<i>Ontario</i> 1, 48)	ARADmu as royal deputy, in Nippur, withdrawn from Aḥu-Wer	one fattened ram for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši, via Šu-Šulgi, envoy	one fattened ram for zu-bu-uš ambassador of ia ₂ -ab- ra-at of Šimaški, via Ur-Ḥaya, envoy; one for dan-na-li ambassador of Ḥulibar, ruler of duḥ-duḥ- via Lalamu, envoy
AS [6* ii 17] (<i>MVN</i> 11, 144 in Nippur)	ARADmu as royal deputy, [withdrawn from Aḥu-Wer]	one fattened ram for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši; three fattened rams to the camp of Naplanum, Amorite, via Adda-saga, soldier	[one] fattened ram for zu-bu-uš, ambassador of Yabrat of Šimaški, via Ur-Ḥaya, envoy, in Nippur; one bull, fifteen rams/goats, dragged to the kitchen for (meat of) the soldiers, via Šulgi-irimu; one fattened bull, two fattened rams for Me-Ištaran, when she celebrated the elunum festival

AS6 ii 24 (CST 466)	Namḥani as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḥu-Wer	one fattened ram for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši, via Šu-Šulgi, envoy,	one fattened ram for zu-bu-uš, ambassador of Yabrat of Šimaški, via Naram-Adad, envoy; one for Aḥantibu, spearman
AS 6 iv 1 (CST 468)	ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḥu-Wer	one fattened goat for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši, via Šu-Šulgi, envoy,	one fattened goat for Ili-Dagan, man of Ebla, via Nabi-Sin, envoy; one for Šu-Išḥara, man of Mari, via Sigteli, envoy; one for ..-gizi, ambassador of the governor of Abarnium, via Namḥani,
AS 6 iv 5 (MVN 13, 635)	ARADmu as royal deputy, are withdrawn from Aḥu-Wer	one fattened goat for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši, via Šu-Šulgi, envoy	one fattened goat for Ili-Dagan, man of Ebla, via Nabi-Sin, envoy; one for Šu-Išḥara, man of Mari, via Sigteli, envoy; three for [...]Nanna(? or an-na), daughter-in-law of x-uš-x-tu-ra-ni-[x]-a
AS 6 iv 6 (TRU 344)	ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḥu-Wer	one fattened goat, Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši, via Šu-Šulgi, envoy	one fattened goat for Ili-Dagan, man of Ebla, via Nabi-Sin, envoy; one for Šu-Išḥara, man of Mari, via Sigteli, envoy; one fattened ram for Geme-Nanna, the daughter-in-law of bu ₃ -u ₂ -du, via Ku-Nanna, envoy, to the kitchen
AS 6 iv 9: (JCS 7, 104 Smith C 473)	Ili-dan, envoy, as royal deputy, all withdrawn from Aḥu-Wer	one fattened ram for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Liban-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši, via Šu-Šulgi, envoy	one fattened ram for Ili-Dagan, man of Ebla, via Nabi-Sin, envoy; one for Šu-Išḥara, man of Mari, via Sigteli, envoy; two for i-din-ak, man of Mari, when he went to his city, via Lu-Damu, envoy
AS 6 iv 23 (Hirose 231)	ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḥu-Wer	one fattened goat for Liban-ašgubi, the ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši, via Lu-Damu, envoy,	one fattened goat for Ili-Dagan, man of Ebla, via Nabi-Sin, envoy; one for Šu-Išḥara, man of Mari, via Sigteli, envoy
AS 6 iv 26 (MVN 11, 146)	ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḥu-Wer	one fattened goat for Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši, via Lu-Damu, envoy	one fattened goat for Ili-Dagan, man of Ebla, via Nabi-Sin, envoy; one for Šu-Išḥara, man of Mari, via Sigteli, envoy
AS 6 vii 1 (BPOA 7, 2202 in Ur)	Ili-dan, envoy, as royal deputy, withdrawn from Nalu	[one] fattened ram for Liban-ašgubi, the ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši, via Ur-Šarrukin, envoy	one fattened ram and three rams for Ur-Baba, cook; one for Šulgi-abi, when Naplanum, his father, poured beer for him

AS 6 viii 2 (<i>MVN</i> 13, 539)	withdrawn from Aḥu-Wer	one fattened goat for Liban-ašgubi, the ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši, via ...	
AS 6 viii 3 (<i>RA</i> 8, 191 11)	withdrawn from Aḥu-Wer	one fattened ram for Liban-aš-gubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši, via Lu-Damu, envoy,	
AS 6 viii 5 (<i>SA</i> 26)	Ili-dan, envoy, as royal deputy, withdrawn from Aḥu-Wer	one fattened ram (udu-niga*), for Liban-ašgubi, the ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḥaši, via Lu-Damu, envoy	one fattened bull for Marḥuni, man of Ḥarši; one fattened bull for a-ḥa-pa ₂ -tal, man of Ḥipilati, in Tummal, via Lugal-kagina, envoy
AS 8 v 26 (<i>SAT</i> 2, 1116)	gifts (niġ ₂ -dab ₅) of the king, withdrawn from Enlila	two cows for the men of Marḥaši, withdrawal of king	AS [8?] v 27 (<i>MVN</i> 13, 695), many Elamite soldiers got a sheep for the festival of Marḥaši
ŠS 9 v 25 (<i>SAT</i> 3, 1878)	gifts (niġ ₂ -dab ₅) of the king	114 rams, gifts of the men of Marḥaši, withdrawal of king	

Collation of *MVN* 13, 636: 4-8: Marḥuni of Ḥarši and Nia sukkal

<i>MVN</i> 13, 636: 4-8, AS 8 i [18 ²]	<i>MVN</i> 20, 28: r. 3-4, AS 7 viii 5	<i>HUCA</i> 29, 75 4: r. 8-10, AS 1 vi 25*-27
1 udu niga ad-da-ge-na, ensi ₂ ḥa-ar-ši ^{ki} , 1 udu niga ma-ar-ḥu-ni, lu ₂ ḥa*-ar*- ši ^{ki} (not lu ₂ [mar]-ḥa-ši ^{ki}), ġiri ₃ [ni*-a*], sukkal, ... 12-4) 1 udu ga-da-bi, lu ₂ ne-gi-ne-ḥu-um* ^{ki} , ġiri ₃ ni*-a (not du ₃ -a) sukkal, ša ₃ nibru ^{ki}	1 udu niga ma-ar-ḥu-ni, lu ₂ ḥa-ar-ši ^{ki} , ġiri ₃ ḥa-ni (for nam-ḥa-ni?) sukkal, ARAD ₂ -mu maškim; (see further AS 1 viii 17 above and <i>BIN</i> 3, 402: rev. 2-4, AS 8 vi 10:) 1 udu niga, ma-ar-ḥu-ni, lu ₂ ḥa-ar-ši ^{ki} , ġiri ₃ ni-a, sukkal, ARAD ₂ - mu maškim;	mu ma-ar-ḥu-ni u ₃ erin ₂ mu-da-a-re-e- ša-a-še ₃ , lu ₂ ḥa-ar-ši ^{ki} -me, ġiri ₃ ni-a, sukkal, <ARAD ₂ *-mu>, maškim (<i>Syracuse</i> 480: 3, ŠS 1 iii 9) 1 udu niga bil ₂ -li, lu ₂ kin-gi ₄ -a su ₂ -su ₂ -wa-da-ar, lu ₂ ia ₃ -a-ab-ru ^{ki} , ġiri ₃ ni-a, sukkal.

§6. Banana, ambassador of a governor of Marḥaši, in Šu-Suen 3 x, 6 ii-iii, 9 ix and Ibbi-Sin 1 iii 25

After Amar-Suen 6 viii, Libanu-ugšabaš may have died, and his ambassador Liban-ašgubi might never have come back to Sumer. As a result, the relationship between Ur and Marḥaši may have become colder for six years. Then, on Šu-Sin 3 x 1, we learn that the new unnamed ruler of Marḥaši sent Banana, his ambassador, to Sumer. Here, Banana received 29 or 30 fattened rams as his monthly allowance on ŠS 6 ii-iii while his lord was given the title “the governor of Marḥaši,” but he, too, later disappeared. On ŠS 7 v 26, two oxen were issued to the kitchen for the men of Marḥaši, and on ŠS 9 v 26, they received 114

rams.

When the new king Ibbi-Sin came to the throne, Banana returned, possibly to congratulate the new king. On IS 1 iii 25, Banana traveled from Nippur to Uruk and five fattened rams were placed on his boat. A few months before, on ŠS 9 ix 3, Apilaša and Banana brought ten sheep to Tummal. Apilaša was a famous frontier general in the OB literature letters of the Ur III dynasty (Michalowski 2011: letters no. 1-3 and 11) and was the general of the troops of Bidadun (*BPOA* 7, 2350). Ibbi-Sin in his second year lost his campaign against Simurum and then no foreigner with tribute was recorded in the texts of Puzrish-Dagan which was closed at the end of this year.

Texts recording Banana, ambassador of the man of Marḥaši: ŠS 2 iv – IS 1 iii 25

ŠS 2 iv (<i>AUCT</i> 1, 69)	in Naqabtum farm via Aya-ili	ninety-five rams to the kitchen for the men of Marḥaši
ŠS 3 x 1 (<i>AUCT</i> 2, 154)	via Kallamu, ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Nalu in Ur	one fattened ram for Banana, ambassador of the man of Marḥaši

ŠS 6 ii 1-30 (CTNMC 7)	withdrawn from du-u ₂ -du, via Adda-kalla, the scribe	thirty fattened rams for allowance of thirty days for Banana, the ambassador of the governor of Marḥaši	twenty-three fattened rams for twenty-three days for ia ₃ -a-da-az, ambassador of Kirname, six for six days to zu-ur ₂ -zu-ra, ambassador of Yabrat, for the Šimaški men
ŠS 6 iii 1-29 (CST 436)	withdrawn from Aḥu-Wer	twenty-nine fattened rams for allowance of twenty-nine days for Banana, ambassador of the governor of Marḥaši,	
[ŠS 6:] (SA 85 (pl. 71))	...	four ban ₂ of good beer, twelve ban ₂ of common beer, two liters of gu-flour and five of barley, twenty bundles of reed, one talent of figs for Banana, man of Marḥaši	1 guruš laborer with one ban ₂ of good beer, five liters of gu-flour; two men with one ban ₂ of good beer and 1/2 liter of gu-flour, serving for the interpreter of the sukkal envoy and the man of Marḥaši
ŠS 7 v 26 (SET 78)	withdrawn from Lugal-me-lam (keeper of cattle)	one cow for soldiers, and one bull and one cow for the men of Marḥaši, to the kitchen	asses and oxen to the kitchen (of the 2 nd -27 th days)
ŠS 9 v 25 (iv 5-30 and v 1-29) (SAT 3, 1878)	iv 5 - v 29: 685 rams, the royal withdrawal, royal gifts and slaughtered rams	v 1-24-26-29 * <305 rams>: v 25: 114 rams, niĝ ₂ -dab ₅ gifts for the men of Marḥaši; total 419 rams, gifts of king	iv 5-30: 266 rams, as the withdrawal of the king and butchered rams (for meat): ba-zi du-du, kišib ₃ u ₄ -de ₃ -niĝ ₂ -saga
ŠS 9 ix 3 (ASJ 16, 107 7)	twenty-six(?) fattened rams/ goats to Tummal	via Banana and Apilaša	
IS 1 iii 25 (JCS 10, 28 5)	ARADmu as royal deputy, withdrawn from Šulgi-ili	five fattened rams for Banana, ambassador of the [*ensi ₂] of Marḥaši, are serviced on the boat, when he went to Uruk;	thirteen fattened rams to the kitchen as the meat of messengers (kas ₄); one fattened bull, five fattened rams for Ip-ḥuḥa, man of Simanum, when he first entered the City

§7. Conclusions

§7.1. Marḥaši, the neighboring state of Elam, was said to submit to Sumer for the first time in the hegemony reign of Lugal-anne-mundu of Adab in the Early Dynastic Period. Later, Sargon and Rimuš of the Akkadian empire conquered Elam and Parahšum (=Marḥaši) again. During the Ur III Empire, Šulgi ruled Elam, conquered foreign lands beyond Elam, and maintained a good relationship with Marḥaši, marrying his daughter to a son of a king of Marḥaši in his 17th ruling year.

§7.2. In the Ur III period, from Š 43 iii to AS 1, Ḥašip-atal, the man of Marḥaši with Lugal-kagina, envoy of Sumer, appeared in Sumer. Šu-salla, Tišandaḥi, Kimani, EN(Bel)-ili, Šulgi-ili and Šuruš-kin, the six generals with Akkadian names of the Ur dynasty, as well as other generals, captain and messengers came with the ambassadors (lu₂ kin-gi₄-a) of the rulers ("man") of Marḥaši. On

Š 46 ix 18 (BIN 3, 12), ama-ĝiri₃^{še-er}, mostly written as ama-ĝiri₃^{er}, a Sumerian noble lady who might be the wife of Ḥašip-atal and the princess of Ur who was married to the son of a king of Marḥaši in Šulgi 17, when she was issued five fattened rams sent to the kitchen for herself and Ḥašip-atal. On Šulgi 48 xii 12 (UDT 116), 4 fattened rams ewes was presented to the libation place of the dead Šulgi and one fattened ram was issued to the e₂-uz-ga royal dining hall for the living queen (nin, either Geme-Ninlil or Šulgi-simti). Likewise, ten fattened rams/goats for the kitchen were issued for the messengers in Nippur, and one goat was given to ama-ĝiri₃^{er}, possibly a princess married to Marḥaši, who came with the messengers from Marḥaši to Sumer possibly to attend the funeral of her father, Šulgi, in Nippur. On AS 1 v 29, ama-ĝiri₃^{er} came back to Sumer, with the ambassadors of both Arwilugbi, ruler ("man") of Marḥaši, and that of his son who might

be born by this Sumerian princess, or her grandson.

§7.3. On AS 1 ix 21 (*MVN* 13, 529), the favor of one bull and five ram/goats were granted each to EN-ili, šu-sal-la, Šuruš-kin, ^dšul-<gi>-i₃-li₂, Nur-ili, ... and ap-na u₃ aš₂-du-ru, men of Šuda-e, Dukra, man of Kakmi, as well as five fattened rams to Bibra, Šimaškeans and one fattened goat for ama-ġiri₃^{š_i-ir}.

§7.4. In Š 47 iv (=Š 46' xii'), H₂šip-atal bears the title "general" (šagina) which means that H₂šip-atal now became a general of the Ur Dynasty. On Š 47 xii 4, H₂šip-atal and nin-ġe₂-du₇, a Sumerian princess and daughter-in-law of H₂šip-atal, each sent three norms (one norm = one bull with ten sheep/goats) of tributes to the Ur dynasty. H₂šip-atal became the general of Arraphum from AS 5 v 25 or before, and his son Puzur-Šulgi, was general from AS 8 v. He also occurred in a text of ŠS 3.

§7.5. Before Amar-Suen 1 v, Arwilugbi became the "man" (ruler) of Marḡaši, and was called by the Ur court "the man of Marḡaši" which means not a vassal of Ur. He sent his unnamed ambassador and that of his son to Sumer. On AS 1 v 28-29, vi 8, 21 and AS 1 viii 17. the ambassador of Arwilugbi and that of his son stayed in Sumer, accompanied by Lugal-kagina, the sukkal envoy of Ur. This son might be his successor, named Liban(u)-ugšabaš, the governor (ensi₂) of Marḡaši after him. On AS 1 v 29, ama-ġiri₃^{er}, possibly a Sumerian princess married to a king of Marḡaši (H₂šip-atal?), came with the two ambassadors. On vi 21, ama-ġiri₃^{er}, appears together with the two ambassadors, but on AS 1 xii 12, she was issued one fattened ram alone.

§7.6. Before AS 3 xii, Libanu-ugšabaš replaced Arwilugbi as the king of Marḡaši. Amur-ili, the first ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, was sent to Sumer and stayed in Sumer

for six months, AS 3 xii – 4 v 15. The first ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš was in Sumer on AS 3 xii 28, AS 4 i 6, 14, 23, 27, ii 25, [iii] 7, iii 22, v 6, 9 and 15 (12 texts). This Libanu-ugšabaš enjoyed a closer relationship with the Ur court than Arwilugbi, and bears title of governor (ensi₂) of Marḡaši. Liban-ašgubi, ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḡaši (AS 5 i – 6 viii 5) replaces Amur-ili, an Akkadian by name, as the ambassador of Libanu-ugšabaš from AS 5 i, and appeared in the court of Ur on AS 5 v 9, vii 5, viii 3, 11-12, 24, ix 1, xi 13, AS 6 ii 16-[17], 24, iv 1, 5-6, 9, 26, vii 1, viii 2-3, 5. During Amar-Suen 5, the Sumerian envoys who accompanied Liban-ašgubi were Ur-Šarru-gen, four times during AS 5, and H₂ani (=Namḡani?), Lu-Damu, Lu-Enki and Namḡani once each. During Amar-Sin 6 ii 16 – iv 9, the accompanying envoy was Šu-Šulgi, and then from AS 6 iv 26 to viii 5, the accompanying envoy was again Lu-Damu,

§7.7. After Amar-Suen 6 viii 5, Libanu-ugšabaš, governor of Marḡaši, may have died and his ambassador Liban-ašgubi apparently never comes back to Sumer. The relationship between Ur and Marḡaši may have become colder for six years (AS 6 ix-ŠS 3 ix). On Šu-Sin 3 x 1, the new unnamed ruler of Marḡaši sends Banana, his ambassador, to Sumer. Here, Banana received fattened rams as his monthly allowances on ŠS 6 ii-iii while his lord was given the title governor of Marḡaši. Later he too disappears from our records. On ŠS 7 v 26, two oxen were issued to the kitchen for the men of Marḡaši, and on ŠS 9 v 26, they received 114 rams as the king's gifts. Banana worked in Sumer for seven years until Ibbi-Sin 1 iii 25 and from then on, no man of Marḡaši is recorded. At this time, the Ur dynasty becomes very weak and its animal center in Puzriš-Dagan was closed at the end of Ibbi-Sin's second year.

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